

U.S. Gov't Persecutes Group Seeking To Aid Victims of S. African Racism

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, June 2 — The Alexander Defense Committee, an organization for the aid of victims of racist oppression in South Africa, has been ordered by the U.S. Justice Department to register as an "agent of a foreign principal." The "foreign principal" named by the Justice Department is Dr. Neville Alexander, a young scholar now serving a ten-year sentence incommunicado in South Africa's notorious Robben Island concentration camp.

This action by the Johnson administration exposes its hypocrisy in claiming to stand opposed to South Africa's vicious apartheid system. The Alexander Defense Committee is one of the organizations in the U.S. actively aiding victims of that system.

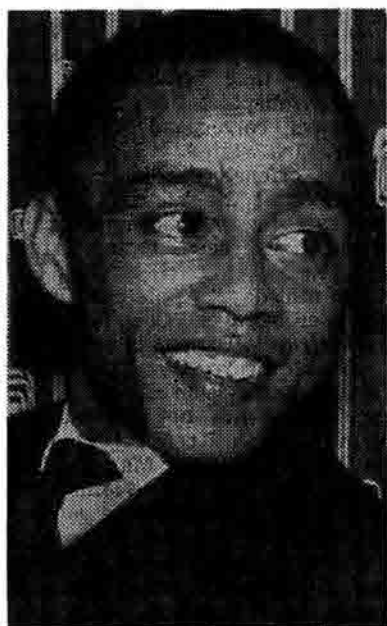
"The Committee will refuse to comply with the order," the officers of the Alexander Committee stated. They are: Paul B. Boutelle, chairman; Robert H. Langston, executive secretary; Berta Green, corresponding secretary; and Dave Dellinger, treasurer. Each faces possible fines of ten thousand dollars and five-year prison sentences for their refusal to register.

Compliance with the Justice Department order would mean that the Alexander Defense Committee would have to turn over all records to the Justice Department, including lists of its contributors — making it more difficult for the committee to raise funds. It is this fact which undoubtedly makes the Johnson administration so keen on forcing the Alexander Defense Committee to register.

Raises Defense Funds

The committee, which was formed in February 1965, helps to raise money for the legal defense of South African political prisoners and for the support of their families. At present, it is estimated that there are over 3,500 prisoners who have been convicted of political offenses and an incalculable number of others who are being held under Proclamation 400 — a law which allows any policeman to arrest any African at any time and hold him indefinitely, incommunicado, without charges.

Dr. Alexander was the first black South African to receive a Humboldt scholarship for advanced study in West Germany. He was awarded a Ph.D. degree in Germany in 1962 and, refusing offers of academic posts in Europe and England, he returned to South



Dr. Neville Alexander

Africa to become a high school teacher.

In July 1963, Alexander and ten others were arrested and held without charges in solitary confinement. Finally, they were indicted under a "sabotage" law and convicted April 15, 1964, to prison terms ranging from five to ten years. In reality, they have been sentenced to indefinite terms, since South African prisoners can be held as long as South African "justice" deems fit.

Neither Alexander nor the others were accused of having committed, nor even having planned, any overt acts. Their convictions rested solely on the fact that they had allegedly formed study groups to investigate possible ways of conducting struggle against apartheid, and had read and discussed Marxist literature and works on guerrilla warfare.

Dr. Alexander and the other male defendants have been in the concentration camp since 1963. At one time, Dr. Alexander suffered a serious ear injury as a result of a beating given him by sadistic prison guards. This was because he refused to do the "tausa dance," a degrading routine in which the South African cops force the prisoners to hop around naked —

supposedly to make certain the prisoners are unarmed.

The Alexander Defense Committee is being charged with being the "agent" of this imprisoned freedom fighter. Such is the Democratic administration's conception of justice for opponents of racism — particularly when they threaten such lucrative arenas for foreign investment as the black slave-labor diamond and gold fields of South Africa.

It was literally the height of white hypocrisy, however, that only six days after having ordered the Alexander Defense Committee to register, Lyndon B. Johnson delivered an address to a reception for members of the Organization of African Unity at the White House in which he claimed that the United States was pledged to the cause of "freedom, equality, justice and dignity" in Africa.

The Texas demagogue went on to say: "Just as we are determined to remove the remnants of inequality from our own midst, we are also with you — heart and soul — as you try to do the same." Johnson further promised, "We shall continue to provide our full share of assistance to refugees from social and political oppression."

Double Standard?

Johnson declared: "The foreign policy of the United States is rooted in its life at home. We will not permit human rights to be restricted in our own country . . . We will not live by a double standard — professing abroad what we do not practice at home, or venerating at home what we ignore abroad."

In a letter to Johnson, the committee states: "If you should permit the Justice Department to proceed against the Alexander Defense Committee, you would demonstrate that American policy abroad is indeed consistent with American policy at home, but, alas, not in the defense of human rights but in their suppression; you would deny Americans the right to aid those abroad who are suffering for the cause of human rights, and you would deprive those who are struggling for human rights in Africa of support (Continued on Page 6)

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The Shooting Of James Meredith

An Editorial

Commenting on the shooting of James Meredith, Attorney General Katzenbach — perhaps unwittingly — said a good deal of truth. Piously asserting that Meredith was his "friend," and a brave man, he added:

"That a man should have to be brave to walk on a public highway, even with FBI agents and local police nearby, is the reflection of how far we still have to go."

He added, however, that only "a few FBI men were there."

"It is not possible," Mr. Katzenbach asserted, "for the FBI to provide complete protection."

Why not?

The United States government can provide 265,000 troops to allegedly defend the "freedom" of the south Vietnamese people. It can rush 20,000 Marines into the Dominican Republic to "save lives" there. It can provide planes and pilots to defend "freedom" in the Congo. But, it says, it can do nothing to protect the lives of black Americans here at home.

In fact, the U.S. violence abroad, and the reactionary propaganda it pours out at home, serves only to incite increasing numbers of acts of violence by poisoned racists and right-wingers.

In a statement on the shooting of Meredith, Rev. Martin Luther King said: "While I will continue to preach with all my heart the power and validity of nonviolence, I must confess that continued acts of violence against Negroes and civil rights workers only cause my words to fall on deaf ears."

And, in our opinion, rightly so. The black people of the South will not achieve any significant measure of safety until they are able to build their own independent political power and their own means of self-defense. The new Black Panther party of Alabama and the Deacons for Defense and Justice point in this necessary direction.

Declaration by Fourth International

The Growing U.S. Threat in Southeast Asia

[The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, issued the following statement May 21].

* * *

The present stage of the imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese revolution has clearly reached a blind alley. The growing resistance of the south Vietnamese masses against the corrupt Ky regime has completely exposed the lie with which American imperialism justified its intervention in the Vietnamese civil war; their fraudulent claim of acting in conformity with the wishes of the people of south Vietnam.

The decomposition of the south Vietnam puppet armies now puts on the imperialist troops the main burden of the war against the south Vietnamese National Liberation Front. The heroic resistance of these freedom fighters has destroyed any hope of military victory for the Pentagon in the present form of war which it conducts against them.

The barbarous bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has in no way broken the fighting spirit of the people of north Vietnam, who more than ever are determined to participate in the common struggle of the Vietnamese people for a free and united socialist Vietnam.

Under these conditions, the ruling circles of American imperialism, unwilling to recognize the defeat of their attempt to stop the tide of the Vietnamese Revolution by military repression, seriously consider opening up a higher stage in the escalation towards global war.

Spreading Aggression

They have started to participate in the military repression against the rising masses of north Thailand and are busy planning interventions against the liberated territories of Laos and the neutral regime of Cambodia. These new acts of aggression will spread the flames of war over a large part of the Southeast Asian peninsula.

A blockade of the harbor of Haiphong and direct air attacks

against the cities of Haiphong and Hanoi are now openly projected as a new stage of the imperialist aggression. These new outrages would directly endanger the military security of the People's Republic of China. These have been clearly and repeatedly defined as the signals which would bring down large-scale intervention of Chinese volunteers to the side of their embattled ally.

The maddest circles in the Pentagon not only are not frightened by such an eventuality but actually welcome it. For them, the whole purpose of the military intervention against the Vietnamese Revolution is to provoke as early as possible a military showdown with the People's Republic of China and to destroy by atomic bombing the main industrial centers which make China the third nuclear power.

An ominous sign of what is in the making is the cynical warning by the Pentagon against the use of the latest type aircraft by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the further announcement that south Chinese airfields

would not be "recognized as privileged sanctuaries." This warning was promptly underscored by the violation of Chinese territory by American aircraft and the downing of a Chinese plane over the province of Yunnan.

Stand of USSR

In this preparatory phase of a new stage of American imperialism's escalation towards global war, the one voice which has been silent on a decisive point has been the voice of the leaders of the Soviet Union. They have the power to stop any project of American aggression against China by making a clear and unequivocal declaration that the government of the Soviet Union would consider such an attack as an attack against its own territory to be answered with all appropriate means at its disposal.

Such a declaration is not only an elementary duty from the point of view of the defense of the Soviet Union; it is the main contribution which could be made today to stop the escalation toward global nu-

(Continued on Page 3)

A GI's Question

"It's true the people really don't want us here . . . Sure we can bomb supply routes, etc. But what about all of the V.C.'s that are in the country already? Which we never find when we sweep for them. You can't kill off a whole population . . .

"The way it looks now, it's all for nothing. It's a pity and a disgrace. When will the American people really wake up and say something about what's going on over here? But why should some of them care, they don't have a son, husband or relative over here. They have nothing to lose or to worry about. But we certainly do — OUR LIVES." — From a letter from a soldier in Vietnam, printed in Pete Hamill's column in the May 31 New York Post.

3,000 Pickets Protest At Calif. Napalm Plant

By Hal Verb

REDWOOD CITY, Calif. — A massive demonstration of some 3,000 was held here May 28 protesting the city's role in the Vietnam war as a center for the production of napalm.

The demonstration, which began with a rally after noon at the Sequoia High School Stadium, ended four miles away just outside the locked gate of the United Technology Center's napalm plant.

Tom Hayden, who defied a State Department ban on travel to north Vietnam, told the rally at the stadium his visit had left him with an impression of the "gentility" of the Vietnamese people despite the violence the war-torn country was subject to. He contrasted the violence used by the U.S. and that of the National Liberation Front. "You have to judge violence by the society," he said.

The violence that emanates from the NLF stems from their hatred of colonialism and foreign domination, said Hayden. A tenant learns violence from his landlord, a peasant from a landowner and a Negro from the policeman on his beat, he explained.

Hayden also said he had learned Secretary of Defense McNamara had been a witness to the burning of Norman Morrison, the Quaker who immolated himself on the steps of the Pentagon as a protest against the war in Vietnam. After observing this, Hayden said, McNamara had to take the rest of the day off from work because he felt "nauseous."

"We have to ask ourselves, how could a man vomit at the sight of a man burning himself but still order 300 bombing missions over Vietnam a day?" Hayden asked.

Robert Scheer, congressional candidate and foreign editor of *Ramparts*, declared that napalm represented a "new style" of war.

"The reliance on napalm defines the nature of this war," declared Scheer. "I don't think this country could politically use napalm against any European city... I have visited villages that were bombed in Vietnam and Cambodia and I can tell you that they held me accountable just as much as anyone who supports the war."

At the napalm plant, Mrs. Joyce McLean, a housewife, told how she was arrested for the first time in her life on May 25. She and three other housewives and moth-

ers had entered the Alviso napalm storage area and stopped the unloading of a barge bearing napalm.

Senator Wayne Morse, speaking outside the napalm factory, stated that he still considered himself as a friend of Johnson despite the stand that he took against Johnson's "undeclared war." Morse said that he was in Redwood City to enlist support for "peace" candidates.

Other speakers to appear at the rally-march were Edward Keating, Carleton Goodlett, Felix Green and local candidates.

Harlem March And Rally Hits Vietnam War

NEW YORK — A united protest street rally against the war in Vietnam was held in Harlem on Memorial Day. Speakers from many organizations addressed an audience that remained at about 300 during the six-hour rally. The meeting was sponsored by the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, and was the first of its kind in Harlem.

The rally was preceded by a march through Harlem of about 75 people, led by the Harlem Peoples Parliament dressed in colorful African attire. The march was sponsored by the Afro-American Memorial March Committee.

Paul Boutelle, chairman of AA-AWV, chaired the street meeting. Many speakers protested the high percentage of black men fighting and dying in the unjust war. The liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people was linked to the fight of people of color throughout the world, including the fight of American Negroes for justice and equality.

The audience reaction was very favorable, and the speakers were interrupted with applause many times.

Among the speakers at the meeting were: civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn; Charles 37X Morris, former associate of Malcolm X; Gilbert Banks, chairman of Blacks Against Negative Dying; lawyer Flo Kennedy; Clifton DeBerry of the Socialist Workers Party; Baba Osejerman Obafemi, prime minister of the Harlem Peoples Parliament; James Haughton, Harlem Unemployment Center; Dolores Costello of Shango Enterprises; Joe Carnegie, transit worker; Tito Nolasco of the Dominican Patriotic Youth; Richard Garza of the SWP; Dorothy Pitman, AA-AWV; Paul B. Gaillard, Harlem Organizing Committee; Lez Edmonds, Black Brotherhood Improvement Association; Mahatma Selassie; and Mrs. M. Levy.



Paul Boutelle

6,400 from Academic World Score U.S. Role in Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

JUNE 7 — A new degree of opposition to the war in Vietnam from the academic and professional community in this country was signaled by the three-page advertisement in the June 5 *New York Times*. The advertisement called on the Johnson administration to consider military withdrawal from Vietnam.

The advertisement included over 6,400 signatures, of which 3,938 were from 180 college and university faculties in 39 states, including two presidents and 20 deans.

In Vietnam, meanwhile, one thing is becoming increasingly clear. If Washington wants to continue its war-of-atrocities against the National Liberation Front, it is going to have to do so almost entirely on its own. The masses of Vietnamese want an end to the war, don't want to fight in it and want the U.S. troops to get out.

Armed student demonstrators in Hue burned a U.S. "cultural" center on May 26 and the U.S. consulate on June 1. In Saigon there have been daily anti-American demonstrations.

After the fifth of nine immolations last week, crowds swelled to over 20,000 in one of the Saigon protests. Ky used what the *New York Times* described as "the strongest police and military pressure ever used against the Buddhists in Saigon" to break the crowd up — but failed. The dem-

onstrators dispersed on their own account.

More and more south Vietnamese troops, themselves, are refusing to take Washington's orders. In a dispatch from Hue, June 4, *Times* correspondent R. W. Apple, Jr., stated, "South Vietnamese offensive military operations against the Vietcong in the country's two northernmost provinces have been halted since May 15."

"On that day," Apple continued, "Premier Nguyen Cao Ky sent loyal troops to Danang to put down a virtual insurrection. The First Vietnamese Division stopped fighting, and it has not yet started again." Joseph Kraft reported in the *Washington Post*, May 30, that desertions from the Vietnamese army were running at the rate of at least 7,500 per month.

What adds insult to injury, however, is that the Johnson administration is not only backing Ky down the line but is apparently pressuring Ky to take a tougher stand towards his opponents than he actually is taking. This was Apple's opinion in a news analysis dispatched from Hue June 5.

"Last week," Apple stated, "the regime of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky had a chance to extend its control into Hue. Almost the entire First Division was moved out of the city, lured to Quangtri Province by American advisers, who hoped that Air Vice Marshal Ky would send paratroopers here as he had

sent them to Danang."

With the anti-Ky First Division out of the way, however, Ky procrastinated. Instead of moving his elite forces into Hue to crush the armed student rebellion — the way he was supposed to — he attempted to conciliate the Buddhists by inviting 10 civilians to take part in the Saigon cabinet and requesting UN supervision of the proposed elections.

It seems doubtful, however, that such token concessions will stem the mounting tide of opposition to Ky's regime. Senator Wayne Morse, who had previously been an outspoken advocate of UN intervention in Vietnam, took a dim view of Ky's steps in the Senate June 2.

"I am at a loss to understand what makes anyone think that there will be free elections in a situation supported by an American puppet military junta," Morse commented.

Possibly the most cogent advice to the Johnson administration this week comes from U.S. *News and World Report*, in its June 13 issue. "The gravest danger of all," the magazine warns, "is that political events [in Vietnam] will undermine the morale of Americans fighting in the field..."

"Now, for the first time," U.S. *News and World Report* continues, "you hear American officers and men asking searching questions about the role the U.S. is playing in this war and its objectives. An American major has this to say: 'Why should I risk going out and getting my head blown off for a couple of generals named Ky and Thi, or for Buddhists who burn down American consulates?'"

"This is not just an idle remark," the conservative magazine continues. "It represents a genuine puzzlement that is expressed more and more frequently. That puzzlement worries top American officials."

"Comments one official: 'Can you imagine what will happen in the U.S. if several thousand American wives and mothers begin getting letters from south Vietnam in which the writers — Americans — say that the U.S. has no business here and should get out? Multiply that several times over in a few months, and pressures to pull out would be irresistible.'"

Antiwar Priest Will Address N. Y. Forum

NEW YORK — Father Daniel Berrigan, the militant antiwar priest who successfully defied the Catholic hierarchy, will speak at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday evening, June 17. Felix McGowan, the former Maryknoll missionary priest, will act as chairman.

Father Berrigan, a noted poet, had drawn the ire of the hierarchy with his increasingly strong pronouncements on the Vietnam war and his activity as co-chairman of the Clergy Concerned About Vietnam. Last December, he was suddenly assigned by the church to Latin America.

Berrigan's exile to Latin America drew wide protest from members of the Catholic Church. The protest mounted, and last March, in an unprecedented action, the hierarchy reversed itself and permitted Father Berrigan to return to the U.S., even though it knew he would not be silenced.

His subject at the Militant Labor Forum meeting, which will be held at 873 Broadway, will be, "The Catholic Church and Social Protest."

Socialist Education Fund

Many Readers Aid Fund

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

JUNE 6 — The Socialist Education Fund has exactly nine days to go. More than \$5,000 must come in within that time if we are to fulfill the \$21,000 quota. It is vitally important that we do so, and we are counting on all the areas and our readers to make it possible to once again carry out this important political task "in full and on time."

Several friends responded this week to a mailing and brought The General up to 78 percent of its very large quota. We thank all of them.

One letter came from a student in Bloomington, Ind., with this little note: "Sorry it's only a buck but I'm broke." It is "bucks" like that one which really count.

Another student from Millbrook, N.Y., sent \$3 with this letter: "I wish I had your courage, but right now am having a rough time with some of the local boys, especially on Vietnam... I subscribe to many publica-

tions, read a great deal on socialist theory, etc., and am convinced that the Socialist Workers Party has the keenest insight into the future." Our thanks, both for the money and the words of encouragement.

W. W. of Connecticut wrote thus: "I am enclosing \$10 in support of the fund and also as a gesture of anger and indignation at the murder of Comrade Bernard in Detroit. Please convey my horror and grief to the comrades in Detroit." Thanks, Bill.

Another fine letter, enclosing \$10, came from Dave Cunningham of Iowa City, Iowa. The letter is too long to reproduce here, and far too fine to excerpt, so it will appear very soon in the Letters from Our Readers column. Suffice it to say we appreciate both the money and the contribution to our thinking.

It is not too late to get your contribution in to the Socialist Education Fund, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	%
Boston	\$ 1,200	\$ 1,212	101
Minneapolis - St. Paul	1,000	1,000	100
Cleveland	1,000	1,000	100
San Francisco	900	900	100
Philadelphia	300	279	93
San Diego	200	190	91
St. Louis	150	131	87
Chicago	1,800	1,540	86
Detroit	1,400	1,194	85
New York	5,800	4,666	81
Newark	150	109	73
Allentown	175	119	68
Milwaukee	400	262	66
Los Angeles	4,400	2,334	53
Seattle	500	250	50
Oakland	900	296	33
Denver	125	26	21
General	600	468	78
TOTALS through June 6	\$21,000	\$15,976	75

Weekly Calendar

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

CHICAGO
INVITATION TO AN INQUEST. The Rosenberg-Sobell case. Speaker: Suzanne Weiss. Fri., June 17, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum

LOS ANGELES
THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT — ITS IDEOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION. Speaker: Tony Ngubo, South African student. Fri., June 17, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK
FATHER DANIEL BERRIGAN, back from exile in Latin America, speaks on The Catholic Church and Social Protest. Fri., June 17, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Students 50c Aup. Militant Labor Forum

TOWN HALL SPEAKOUT ON VIETNAM. Panel of experts and YOU on controversial questions and issues. Fri., June 17, Hotel Beacon, 75th St. and Broadway, 8 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Students 50c. Aup. West Side Committee to Bring the Troops Home.

DEMANDS U.S. GET OUT

Belgian MP Rips Vietnam War

(World Outlook) — For the first time in parliament in Belgium, if not in the parliaments of all of Western Europe, a voice has been openly raised in support of the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam and the heroic Vietnamese freedom fighters.

The occasion was during the debate on foreign policy April 27. Pierre Le Grève, a member of parliament from Brussels, took the floor to express a view that is growing in the radical movement in Belgium. He is a member of the Confédération Socialiste des Travailleurs [Socialist Workers Confederation], the new, left socialist party which broke with the reformist Social Democracy 18 months ago.

Among other things, he said the following: "The extraordinary example of Vietnam, which has held out against two modern imperialist armies, shows that guerrilla freedom fighters can even succeed in imposing real military defeats, as they did against France, which is a very rare feat indeed!

"That's what they did at Dien Bien Phu.

"To their misfortune, these unhappy people were then immediately faced with the most powerful army in the world, the American army. And nevertheless their resistance is not weakening at all.

"Recently, all the urban centers have been in turmoil, a clear indication to international public opinion that the puppet government kept in power by the Americans has no popular base whatsoever and is universally hated throughout the land . . .

"In my opinion, only one attitude can possibly be adopted towards the war in Vietnam. I do not ask Mr. Spaak or the present minister of foreign affairs to serve as mediators. I do not call for negotiations. That's what the Americans want . . . All I demand is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American



SOLIDARITY ACTION. Brussels demonstrators joined International Days of Protest against Vietnam war last October.

interventionist troops from Vietnam and the rest of the world."

Elsewhere in his speech, Le Grève made the first appeal in parliament for Belgium to immediately get out of the counter-revolutionary NATO alliance. His stand contrasts with that of the pro-Moscow Communist Party, which only asks that Belgium quit the alliance when it comes up legally for renewal in 1969.

La Voix du Peuple [The Voice of the People], the weekly news-

paper of the pro-Peking Communist Party, grudgingly admitted that Le Grève advanced a "correct position" on both the Vietnam war and the NATO question; and that he had spoken a "language hitherto unknown" in parliament.

The admission is even more significant in view of the fact that *La Voix du Peuple* constantly attacks Le Grève and other leading figures of the Socialist Workers Confederation as "Trotskyist."

1,500 N. Y. East Siders See Antiwar Pageant

By Ron Wolin

NEW YORK — Under the sponsorship of Peckmans Square Neighbors for Peace, two highly successful performances of an original dance drama protest against the war in Vietnam were presented Friday and Saturday evenings, June 3 and 4, in Lower East Side parks by the Pageant Players. A total of more than 1,500 people attended.

Friday's performance was the first ever given at the Jacob Riis Amphitheatre, in the city's newest and best designed park. For once a park for poor people has been built with imagination. It provided a perfect setting for the outdoor drama which told the story of the Vietnamese war in equally human terms.

Four of the 10 players represented Vietnamese peasants; four, typical New Yorkers; and two, "the rulers of the world, Uncle Sam and his lady." Each group was shown at its daily tasks, with the contrast in style of living vividly depicted. The girding of the Americans for war and their cynical use by the rulers to destroy the people and culture of Vietnam was dramatized in a series of vignettes.

The final scenes showed the resistance of the Vietnamese, their eventual victory and the toppling of "the rulers" by the disgusted people of America.

A second original dance drama, called "King Con," a satire based on the monopolistic practices of Consolidated Edison, New York's electric company, was also pre-

sented by the talented Pageant Players.

On Saturday night the program was put on in the area in front of the almost completed band shell in Tompkins Square Park. At least half the audience was composed of wide-eyed youngsters who reacted enthusiastically to every move of the dancers.

Also that evening, Jim Morgan, an officer of Tompkins Square Neighbors for Peace, addressed the audience. He told of the group's work to end the war in Vietnam and bring the troops home now and called for the support of all members of the community in building the next Days of Protest, Aug. 6-9, into the most effective demonstration against the war in New York's history.

... F. I. Declaration

(Continued from Page 1)

clear war. For it is certain that the crisis of American imperialism and the world imperialist system has not yet reached the point where Washington is ready to risk nuclear death as against retreating from Vietnam.

A declaration of basic solidarity with the People's Republic of China would also be the main prerequisite for establishing the necessary united front of all the workers states in the defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It would help dissipate the suspicions of the Chinese leaders that the Kremlin plans to stay on the sidelines in the event of an American aggression against China. It should be underlined that, notwithstanding their incorrect talk about "capitalist restoration" in the Soviet Union, the Chinese leaders have solemnly reconfirmed their resolution to come to the assistance of the Soviet Union in the event of an American military aggression; this as late as April 1966.

Crime Against Peace

The silence of the leaders of the Soviet Union on the preparation of war against China is a blow against the interests of defense of the Soviet Union and all the workers states, a crime against the interests of peace.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International calls upon all communists, working class and anti-imperialist militants and movements throughout the world to demand from the Soviet leaders an immediate declaration of solidarity with People's China in face of the growing threat.

It calls upon them to step up their actions for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution, their actions of struggle against the counterrevolutionary wars of United States imperialism, their actions to extend the revolution to new countries and thereby force imperialism to disperse its forces more and more over the globe and to weaken its pressure upon the revolutionary masses of Southeast Asia.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE ORGANIZED WORKING CLASS IN THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by James O'Connor, in *Studies on the Left*, March-April, 1966.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE OLD AND NEW CUBA by James O'Connor, in *Science and Society*, Spring, 1966.

These two articles by James O'Connor are genuine contributions to the understanding of the Cuban revolution. They should be read together since they deal with complementary aspects of the same process.

O'Connor examines the development of the organized working class and of industrial organization in Cuba both before and after the revolutionary victory. He attempts to show, step by step, why and how the Castro government initiated the various changes that it brought about in these spheres.

In his well-documented, scholarly accounts, O'Connor does not hesitate to point out what he sees as the mistakes as well as the successes of the revolutionary regime.

MACBIRD by Barbara Garson. Published by the Independent Socialist Club at Berkeley, Calif. 30 pages, illustrated, 50c.

MacBird is a rather pointed satire. Shakespeare's *MacBeth* is rewritten from a radical point of view to fit Lyndon Johnson, the Kennedy brothers, etc. While the satire has a telling acuteness on the whole, some of its parts should not be interpreted too literally.

Most of the play is directly adapted from Shakespeare. The script is put together in a smooth

and highly readable fashion. Here and there Barbara Garson has let a bit too much cynicism get into her lines.

Copies may be obtained by writing to: "MacBird," Box 910, Berkeley 1, Calif.

THE LEFT IN EUROPE SINCE 1789 by David Caute. New York, World University Library. 256 pages. \$2.45 paperback, illustrated.

This book provides a handy and accurate guide to the European Left from 1789 to the present. The author, David Caute, appears to be sympathetic to the left as a whole. He has written a tightly worded little work that packs a lot of information into its rather brief text. His analyses are often debatable and the lack of real depth makes it inadvisable to recommend this work to beginning students of the Left.

For those more familiar with radical history, however, Caute's survey will prove to be both fascinating and stimulating. Moreover, the book is profusely and beautifully illustrated.

INTELLECTUAL LOVE AFFAIR by Isaac Deutscher, in *The Nation*, May 16, 1966.

This essay by Isaac Deutscher is nominally a review of Georg Lukacs' book *Essays on Thomas Mann*. However, it is actually much more than that. Deutscher reviews the history of Stalinist literary criticism and points out its severe deviations from the viewpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Lukacs' career and his analysis of Mann are examined within this context.

Deutscher describes how the

Stalinized Communist parties have since the 1930's been systematically blunting their criticism of Western literature as part of their search for liberal "allies." Deutscher writes:

"This is not to suggest that Marxists should not have been or should not be concerned with the struggle for allies or that they should not be intensely preoccupied with the problem of the cultural heritage. The point is that Stalinism abused these concerns and preoccupations for its shallow and opportunistic tactical games. The Stalinized parties conducted their search for allies so unscrupulously and perversely that they lost themselves in the process, i.e., they lost sight of the interests and aspirations of the working classes."

LE CORBUSIER: ARCHITECT OF THE FUTURE by Ross Dowson, in *Young Socialist Forum*, May-June 1966.

The world-renowned architect, Le Corbusier, objected that "The 20th century hasn't built for men, it has built for money." Le Corbusier tried to build for men, but he was frustrated at every turn by the conservatism and stuffiness of capitalist society in its decadent phase.

Ross Dowson explains how Le Corbusier is a builder whose work will contribute to the better world to come when planning for people instead of for profit will be the order of the day. His article appears in the May-June issue of the *Canadian Young Socialist Forum*, 32 Cecil Street, Toronto, 2B, Ontario, Canada. A subscription to this revolutionary journal costs 50¢ for six issues or \$1 for 12.

—Arthur Maglin

Verwoerd Regime Attacks Daughter Of Abram Fischer

Under the fascist concept of guilt by association, the Verwoerd government has begun moving against the relatives of Abram Fischer, who was recently given a life sentence because of his opposition to apartheid.

Miss Ilse Fischer, the 22-year-old daughter of South Africa's distinguished attorney, and her fiancé John Sholto Cross, a journalist, were listed as "Communists" May 22. This means that they cannot be quoted or write for publication in South Africa and cannot belong to any organization that discusses state policy. Mr. Cross writes for a business and financial journal in Johannesburg. Miss Fischer is studying to be a librarian.

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Vol. 30 - No. 24



Monday, June 13, 1966

A Gain for United Action

The entire radical movement should be encouraged by the gratifying success of the united memorial-protest meetings held across the country on behalf of Leo Bernard, the young socialist shot down by a fanatical anti-communist in the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

The meetings, with their unusually broad range of speakers and messages of support, were a necessary and effective protest against the social and political climate responsible for the Detroit shooting. And they were a good demonstration that the movement will not be deterred by such acts of terrorism.

At the same time, the meetings represented a significant new step forward in realizing the goal of a maximum of unity in action of all groups dedicated to the cause of peace and social progress.

Perhaps the most noteworthy and encouraging example of this was the presence of Communist Party spokesmen at a number of the meetings. Until now, the Communist Party had followed a policy of refusing to participate in meetings of the Socialist Workers Party.

The unity that was achieved around this issue is a culmination of the strong pressure for such a course emanating from the antiwar movement. From the outset, the young antiwar activists have correctly insisted on a policy of "non-exclusion" in the movement; that is, that no one be barred from participating because of his political views or affiliations.

While the policy of non-exclusion has been pursued with highly beneficial results, there has also been a growing recognition that there are very real differences within the movement — that the debates aren't just a rehash of "irrelevant" past disputes of the "old left." Such issues as that of negotiations as counterposed to U.S. withdrawal in Vietnam, or whether or not to engage in Democratic Party "coalition" politics have assumed a very real meaning in the movement.

But the fact of such differences need not be a barrier to unity in action. Nor do the differences have to be put aside to forge such unity. In fact, the very concept of the united front — as it was developed by Lenin — is based on the assumption of the existence of significant differences within the movement.

Lenin developed the conception that while it was false and self-defeating to permit such differences to stand in the way of united fronts on specific issues where there was agreement, there also was no need whatever to pretend that the differences do not exist.

In fact, he argued, to slur over the differences can only make it more difficult to apply the principle of the united front. Where there is a clear-cut understanding of the exact issue on which the united action is to be taken, as well as agreement as to how to achieve the specified aim, there is no reason in the world why there cannot be, within this framework, a fraternal exchange of views on those questions on which there are differences. And, he added, united action provides a good opportunity for all concerned to test differing views.

This kind of approach was seen at the memorial meeting held in New York (See report in our last issue). Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, for example, took the occasion to express his conviction as a pacifist that the entire movement must repudiate all violence as a method.

On the other hand, *National Guardian* editor, James Aronson, argued that a people fighting for national liberation were not brutalized by using violence to repel a foreign aggressor.

These expressions of differing views in no way prevented either from registering their full solidarity with the purpose of the meeting.

The motivation for applying the principle of the united front is simple and time-tested: In unity there is strength.

The Dominican Elections

The declaration by Dominican President-elect Balaguer that he favors keeping the U.S. occupation force in his country for a further period will not be upsetting to the Johnson administration.

Balaguer's declaration makes clear why he was Washington's favored candidate. His role will be to carry out U.S. policy in his country. And that policy is to maintain the domination of the U.S. and Dominican business interests over the Dominican masses.

To achieve that, a strong, effective army is necessary. It was the disintegration of the Dominican army that triggered the U.S. invasion. Now the intention is to keep the U.S. troops there until the reactionary Dominican brass hats are firmly back in the saddle.

This may be in the interests of the landlords and the Dominican and U.S. capitalists. It is definitely not in the interests of the impoverished Dominican people. In the name of fair play, and the right of all people to self-determination, the people of the U.S. should demand that the occupation force be withdrawn.

More Messag

From Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee

Shocked by news of murder and wounding of fellow activists in movement against war in Vietnam. Extend solidarity against witchhunt atmosphere breeding such attacks and deepest sympathy at your loss.

From Frank Kofsky

[Frank Kofsky is a faculty member at the University of Pittsburgh. He is an historian and jazz critic.]

Ben Johnson's aphorism that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel has to be updated: Anti-communism, not patriotism, is that last refuge. The senseless slaying of Leo Bernard and the wounding of Jan Garrett and Walter Graham demonstrate that the domestic fruits of anti-communism can be just as barbaric, just as horrendous, as the foreign policy which Johnson pursues in Vietnam under the rationale provided by anti-communism.

Today as in the 1930's, a pro-imperialist and anti-socialist wave of aggression is being unleashed against innocent victims — all in the name of the god anti-communism. Those who have lent their name and prestige to the anti-communist crusade, be they conservatives, liberals, or even so-called socialists, must be held responsible for this latest tragedy (more so, I suspect, than the half-crazed man who did the actual shooting). Perhaps this most recent outrage will suffice to show them the error of their anti-communist ways.

Condolences to the family and friends of the deceased; wishes for a speedy recovery to his two fellow victims.

From Fred Stover

[Fred Stover is president of the U.S. Farmers' Association, a militant, midwestern farm organization.]

The Farmers' Association joins others in mourning the martyred Leo Bernard and also in expressing our abhorrence for this murder and the peculiar political sickness that created the atmosphere for such a crime.

In a real sense, it is a replica in miniature of the global McCarthyism of the Johnson administration which makes the killing of communists, suspected com-

munists and non-conformists a laudatory achievement.

We also would join others in administering the kind of a political cathartic that would cleanse our body politic of this pernicious disease of anti-communism.

Sorry I can't be with you.

From Stan Beale

[Stan Beale is a spokesman for the St. Pancras North Young Socialists of London.]

The St. Pancras North Young Socialists of London, England, would like to express to you their shock at hearing of the murder of Comrade Leo Bernard in Detroit, and to convey our solidarity with the YSA in its struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam, for which Comrade Bernard has died.

From Mexico

[From the Concejo Estudiantil Universitario (University Student Council) of Mexico.]

The University Student Council, organized by the educational reform movement that has developed in Mexico, has been informed of the cowardly attack that an hysterical neo-fascist carried out against the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party, killing one and gravely wounding two.

The University Student Council solidarizes itself with the developing struggle of the Socialist Workers Party and other organizations against racial discrimination and war and energetically protests against this shameful and repugnant attack.

It has not escaped the University Student Council that the perpetrator of this terrible action was a product of the hysteria fomented by the high government circles of the United States and the ruling classes, that not only have repressed the peoples struggling to establish the type of society that they consider best for the resolution of their own domestic problems, but from the logic of their policy have carried this repression and their crimes to their own country on an ever-growing scale.

It can be clearly seen that the course of these actions will in the near future reach to all points of the globe with equal vigor; at the same time that we protest, we will manifest our firm decision to confront anything that is stirred up in our country, by calling upon those organized for justice to close ranks to combat the fascists sup-

ported by the ruling classes on a world scale.

In the same manner, we call upon the militants of all the world who feel the painful experiences that the conflict has just now left not to be indifferent before these deeds that are only the warning of the most cruel attacks, such as those that occurred in the era of Hitlerian fascism, and to be prepared to repel with great energy every attack that the neo-fascist forces launch against the revolutionary militants.

For a world front against the neo-fascist currents that are already advancing and showing themselves in the war in Vietnam and the persecution of the racial minorities in several countries.

Manifestations of protest must be organized against this present criminal attack.

We must redouble our efforts to put an end to the power of the war makers.

From Paul Jacobs

[Paul Jacobs is an author and labor historian.]

The tragic and senseless murder of Leo Bernard reflects, accurately, the tragic and senseless society he was seeking to change. We have been caught in a society which justifies murdering those people in other countries it cannot understand and with whom it disagrees. The real lesson of the shooting in Detroit is not that one man went crazy, but that his insanity took a form in which he was only acting out what appeared to him in this society to be a justifiable act.

If Bernard is not to have died totally in vain, let us all take heed. And let those of us who have ever succumbed in the past to vicious and insensate anti-communism, no matter what the provocation, accept our responsibility, too, for Bernard's death. From this understanding of our own roles perhaps there will come a new push to the left, a new opening of the radical view, a new commitment to end a society which must, inevitably, produce such tragedies as the murder of Leo Bernard. Then, Bernard will not have been struck down in vain.

From M. S. Arnoni

[M. S. Arnoni is editor of the magazine, *Minority of One*.]

Leo Bernard was a victim of the very same fascist forces which are decimating the people of Vietnam. International banditry such as is engaged in by the Johnson administration must necessarily be accompanied by domestic banditry that felled Leo Bernard for his "sin" of striving towards a juster world. His memory will be inscribed in my heart.

From Italy

[From the Revolutionary Communist Group, Italian section of the Fourth International.]

The Italian Section of the Fourth International expresses its deep sorrow and fraternal solidarity for the death of comrade Leo Bernard, killed in the attack in which Walter Graham and Jan Garrett were seriously wounded.

This act, which is not an isolated instance of anti-communist hysteria, both in the USA and in other countries in which anti-imperialist militant movements fight, witnesses the fact that the leading reactionary circles, facing a growing opposition by the genuine Marxist organizations, with young militants on the forefront, and conscious that their traditional means of paternalism and corruption towards the opportunist leaderships of the working class organizations are useless means towards the most advanced organizations, have recourse to the traditional means used by fascist and Nazi groups.

Leo Bernard has added his name



LEO BERNARD

es on Detroit Shooting

to the long list of revolutionaries who died on their fighting place. The Italian Section of the Fourth International will honor Leo Bernard by increasing its activity for the destruction of capitalism, in the name of revolutionary Marxism and internationalism.

From Conrad Lynn

[Conrad Lynn is a veteran civil rights attorney.]

The wanton murder of Leo Bernard in Detroit is a tragic illustration of the growing polarization of forces in the United States. The middle ground is being swept from under all of us. We must choose between death and life. As the nation moves towards civil war, it behooves all the antiwar forces to coalesce for this fateful confrontation.



Conrad Lynn

From J. Atkinson

[J. Atkinson is branch secretary, Electrical Trades Union, Patney, England.]

Lambeth Electrical Trades Union sends its condolences to the Socialist Workers Party on the occasion of the brutal attack on three of your members which resulted in the death of one. This attack is no doubt associated with the heroic stand you have taken in your demand that American troops should be withdrawn from Vietnam and that the Vietnamese people must have the right to determine their own future.

From Frank Donner

[Frank Donner is a labor and civil liberties attorney.]

While I cannot be present at the memorial meeting for Leo Bernard, I want to add my voice to the protest against this frightening deed. Since the early sixties, bigots, ultra-rightists and anti-Communist fanatics have freely used the weapon of murder and terror against the left. The bombings and assassinations, which have become an almost routine weapon of the American ultra-right, must be curbed.

The Department of Justice must be made to take action against this growing use of violence against the left.

It is no answer to say that the assassin was a psychotic or that he was deranged. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of Wanioleks walking the streets who are not insane in any clinical sense, but who are ready to commit murder, or worse, to give expression to their anti-Communism. The assassin's shocking deed mirrors the sickness and hate of our entire society, the logical projection of its anti-Communist paranoia. Waniolek may have crossed the line into insanity, but what about the thousands and thousands of others who have motivated him and whose "sanity" masks the same criminal impulses?

What is particularly shocking to me is that Leo Bernard lost his life not for anything he said or

did, but solely for what he was. He was hunted down like an animal by a man who was a stranger to him, to whom he never did a moment's harm. Is this act really a symbolic murder to which we all must give note in awe? Does it presage a time when hate-filled fanatics will be ready to mow down all dissenters with the cry "You're all Commies"?

From Chris Wichenden

[Chris Wichenden is secretary of the Woking, England, Labor Party Young Socialists.]

At our meeting on Friday, May 20, Woking Labor Party Young Socialists passed the following resolution:

"Woking YS sends its sympathy to the Socialist Workers Party in Detroit, USA, on the tragic murder of one of our American comrades. It hopes that this tragedy will not weaken them in the struggle for international socialism."

May I add my own condolences to this unanimous resolution. We were all very shocked when we heard the news.

From Clare Paget

[Clare Paget is a member of the North Paddington Labor Party Young Socialists.]

Our young socialists were deeply concerned at the news last week of the tragic assassination of Leo Bernard and wounding of two YSA members. We understand that there were political reasons for this extremist madman's actions and wish to express, in addition to our condolences, our full support for your work in the USA in opposing the American imperialist action in Vietnam.

From Tim Wohlforth

[Tim Wohlforth is a spokesman for the American Committee for the Fourth International.]

Leo Bernard was killed and Jan Garrett and Walter Graham were wounded as martyrs in the continuing class struggle. The assassin was a demoralized worker, tragically misled and deluded by anti-working class propaganda to the point where he committed this crazed act.

We, the membership of the American Committee for the Fourth International, extend our condolences to the memberships of the SWP and the YSA and to the families of the victims.

This incident is the latest in a series, including the bombings of the DuBois Club and VDC headquarters. We call for united defense against anti-working class hooliganism and terrorism.

From Russell Johnson

[Russell Johnson is peace education secretary of the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee.]

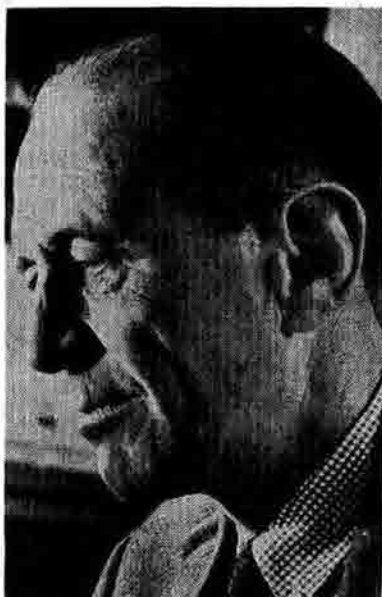
This atrocity is one of several recently inflicted upon persons and groups holding "left-wing" political beliefs. I deeply deplore it. Even though the murderer was mentally deranged, this act stemmed directly from the widespread ignorance and hysteria about communism which afflicts the citizens of the United States. With so many unsolved problems in American society at home and abroad, a wide range of discussion and analysis is needed.

Communists and socialists of various kinds have a legitimate role to play. Each citizen must be alert to the rights and contributions of this minority and help overcome the prejudice which today places such blinders on our thought and action. Nazism grew in Germany because of general indifference to similar political persecution. We must resist it here!

From Maxwell Geismar

[Maxwell Geismar is a literary critic and writer on American literary history.]

The vicious and meaningless murder of the peaceful young socialist, Leo Bernard, by a so-called "anti-communist maniac" simply reflects the oppressive cultural climate of the United States today. I believe this climate of prejudice, hysteria and violence will continue to grow worse — just when we had thought to be free of McCarthyism! — until the mad war in Vietnam is stopped. Otherwise, what artist, what intellectual, what historian or literary critic can speak of "American honor" or the "American conscience" today. What is left of a once great national heritage?



Maxwell Geismar

From Dorothy Bass

[Dorothy Bass is secretary of the Hampstead, England, Young Socialists.]

I am writing to you on behalf of Hampstead Young Socialists to tell you how deeply shocked we were to hear of the tragic death of one of your leading members. The story was truly horrible, and a reflection of the rottenness of American society. We hope the comrades who were shot and injured will soon be completely recovered. We extend to you our heartfelt condolences that this awful, senseless murder should have occurred, and hope it may be of some small consolation to you to know of the people throughout the world who are thinking of you at this time.

From Howard Zinn

[Howard Zinn is professor of government at Boston University and author of a book on SNCC.]

I want to add my voice to those who have gathered in memory of Leo Bernard. He and the two other students who were wounded are victims of the fanatical anti-communism which has been so deep a part of the psychology of this country for a long time. They are not alone. Those who died in the Spanish Civil War, those who were victims of Adolf Hitler, were all victims of the same madness. And the women and children dying in the bomb blasts of American planes, those being killed by the guns we have supplied to the Ky government in south Vietnam, are also victims of this same fanaticism. What is worse, this mad-

Watts and Harlem

By Robert Vernon
And George Novack

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ness is sustained and encouraged by the actions of presumably rational men: Johnson, Rusk, McNamara and the rest.

Ultimately, they must share the responsibility for the deaths of the countless thousands in Vietnam and elsewhere, because they have used the symbol "communist" as Governor Wallace and others have used the symbol "nigger" — as devices for inciting others to commit murder. The rest of us bear responsibility too, until that moment when we break our silence, and speak and act for a world which does no violence to either the body or the spirit of man.

From Switzerland

[From the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers League, Swiss section of the Fourth International.]

Deeply shocked by the killer-attack against the three young socialists. We want to express our deep solidarity with your party and our heartfelt sympathy with the victims and their relatives.

We have nothing to add to your statement and those of others regarding the political meaning of this murderous act. But we would like to stress the big impact that the courageous fight of the American antiwar movement and your contribution to it has had in our country as in all the other countries in the world. And we will strive to fight on in the spirit of Leo Bernard and his comrades against the Vietnam war and all oppressive wars and for a socialist world of peace and freedom, in our country as you do in the United States.

From Revolutionary Communist Youth of France

[From members of the national bureau and national committee of the Revolutionary Communist Youth in France.]

We are in solidarity with your fight. The sorrow of the YSA is ours also. We have been deeply grieved by the assassination of Comrade Leo Bernard. We would be happy to hear of the recovery of Comrades Jan Garrett and Walter Graham. Receive, dear comrades, the assurance of our fraternal regards and our revolutionary sentiments.

From Ed Wolkenstein

[Ed Wolkenstein is editor of Red Sword in Buffalo, N. Y.]

Please forward my condolences to the family of Leo Bernard and wishes for a speedy recovery to Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

It is time that the left began to reappraise its attitude and policy toward the violence being directed against it. Words, no matter how eloquent, are not enough.

From Hackney, England

[From the Hackney, England, Young Socialists.]

Hackney C.L.P. Young Socialists sends its deepest condolences to the family and comrades of Leo Bernard. We also would like to express our concern and regret on what seems to be an organized and vicious attack on comrades of the SWP. We wish our comrades of the SWP the greatest success in their fight for socialism.

From William Worthy

[William Worthy is foreign correspondent for the Afro-American.]

The right-wing psychopath who pumped bullets into three antiwar objectors was merely ahead of his time.

What that nut did on May 16 in Detroit is exactly what his fellow fanatics in the CIA will be doing in the next few years to dissenters all over the country. It cannot be otherwise if, as Dean Rusk blandly tells us, the U.S. is committed to unilateral military intervention in 40 nations. For the already strong opposition to Mr. Johnson's racist war in Vietnam will explode into life-and-death resistance, both here and in many places abroad, as the Marines begin landing and the bombs start falling in those 39 other countries.

The men and computers in Washington whose "thinking" runs parallel to the deranged anti-communism of that Detroit taxi driver will have only one answer for anyone of any age who stands in the path of their aggression: violence, terror, torture and death. I wish that everyone in the American peace movement were morally and intellectually capable of understanding the true nature of their adversaries who, for the moment, profess to tolerate dissent in the spirit of civil liberties.



William Worthy

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Protest Brutal Treatment

Hugo Blanco on Hunger Strike

(World Outlook) — According to the May 25 issue of *Revolución Peruana* [Peruvian Revolution], the underground publication of the Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario [Left Revolutionary Front], Hugo Blanco, the well-known Trotskyist peasant leader and head of the FIR, has gone on a hunger strike.

Revolución Peruana reports that Hugo Blanco is staging the strike as a protest against the cruel and inhuman measures under which he has been held for three years in the Arequipa prison.

"He is not permitted to receive visits," says *Revolución Peruana*, "not even from his family. His correspondence is minutely checked, a continual arbitrary censorship is placed on what he can read, the judge being an ignorant captain of the guard. He is denied medical attention, even dental care."

The publication was unable to say how long Hugo Blanco intended to continue his hunger strike.



FREEDOM FIGHTERS. Peasant leader Hugo Blanco, center, and fellow fighters against reactionary Peruvian oligarchy.

of reading and working, gravely ill."

In Huancayo, according to the appeal, 37 people are being held on charges of guerrilla activities. They have been savagely tortured, particularly Antonio Meza Bravo. The medical report itself in his case notes that his liver, kidneys and lungs are affected and that he is close to a mental breakdown.

Pancha Durand Borda, Pilar Borda Viuda de Durand and Nieves Rado Calderón have been held since August 1965 in the Women's Jail in Belén (Cuzco). They are gravely ill. The 18-year-old Nieves Rado Calderón is reported to have suffered a mental breakdown.

The FIR appeals for protests and actions to let the Belaúnde government know what the world thinks about such things. The demand should be made that it end

its criminal, indiscriminate repression, respect the lives of political prisoners and grant them a general amnesty.

German Students Hold Protest Rally Against Viet War

FRANKFURT, West Germany (World Outlook) — An unexpected number of students — some 2,200 — turned out for a conference on Vietnam organized by the Socialist Students of Germany at Frankfurt University, May 22.

The conference was followed by a march through Frankfurt in which about 4,000 participated. At a subsequent open-air meeting, the crowd was estimated at 6,000.

The conference, the march and the meeting were all militant in character, openly defending the social revolution in Vietnam and demanding the withdrawal of American troops.

The main slogan was, "Not a penny, not a man, for the war in Vietnam."

A huge banner was carried by eleven people: "No German participation in genocide" and "Amis [Yanks] out of Vietnam."

Groups of Iraqi, Iranian, Greek and other foreign students participated in the march, despite the fact that the secret political police of their respective countries is keeping them under close surveillance, in collaboration with their German counterparts.

Herbert Marcuse, a professor of German origin, now teaching at an American university, was the main speaker at the conference. With a wealth of facts and figures, he proved that to survive, Vietnam has no choice but to undertake profound social changes, particularly a radical land reform. He pointed out that the forces fighting for such a radical program of social revolution in the underdeveloped countries will win in the end. He ridiculed the position that they should seek an alliance with "their" national bourgeoisie.

Four panels took up the political and juridical problems of the Vietnam war, the domestic causes of the Vietnamese revolution, aspects of foreign policy in the Vietnam conflict and "Vietnam and the Federal Republic."

There are incomparably more reformers in the world than revolutionists, more accommodationists than irreconcilables. Only in exceptional historic periods, when the masses come into movement, do the revolutionists emerge from their isolation, and the reformers become more like fish out of water. — Leon Trotsky

Interview With Juan Mari Bras

By Richard Garza

NEW YORK — Juan Mari Bras, leader of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, and a lawyer, was in this city recently to represent a group of Puerto Rican workers in a legal case. While here, he spoke with me about the struggle in Puerto Rico against the war in Vietnam.

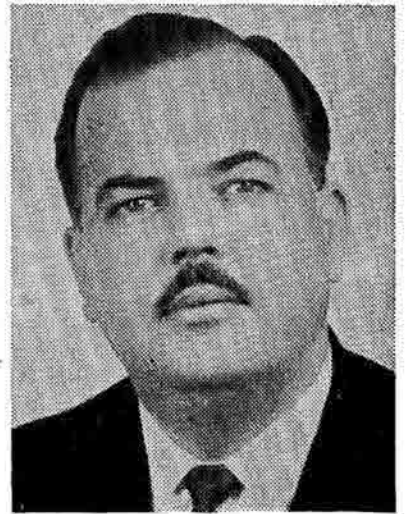
Mari Bras described the growing sentiment against the war among pro-independence youth. Recently, they held a seminar attended by over 100 delegates to learn more about the origins of the war and about Vietnam. The youth intend to use such information in their island-wide campaign to inform the people of Puerto Rico about the true nature of the war.

The seminar also discussed the draft law which obliges Puerto Rican youth to serve in the army of the colonial power which refuses them independence. This fact is particularly galling, Mari Bras said, since all other colonial powers have dropped the policy of sending the people of one colony to fight against the liberty of others.

He described the teach-ins and demonstrations students have organized at military bases and Selective Service offices throughout the island. They have also organized street corner meetings in the slums and projects as well as in rural areas. The common slogan at these demonstrations is: "We won't fight in Vietnam or in Santo Domingo!"

One reason that feeling against the war is rising on the island, Mari Bras said, is the eight to ten caskets that arrive weekly with the corpses of Puerto Rican youth killed in Vietnam.

Opposition to the war has been manifested by other groups, including the Anti-Colonial Congress, a moderate group in favor of sovereignty for Puerto Rico. The executive committee of the Confederation of Independent Unions



Juan Mari Bras

has adopted a resolution criticizing U.S. intervention in Vietnam, Mari Bras said.

A political group within the ruling Popular Party, analogous to the Americans for Democratic Action, has also opposed military service by Puerto Ricans and strongly criticized legislation passed in support of Washington's policy.

Mari Bras said the movement against the war faced increasing harassment by the Internal Security Police and U.S. agencies like the FBI which are active on the island.

Recently, the case of Sixto Alvelo, a young worker who has been charged with violating the draft law, has caused wide concern. When Alvelo was called up for service in the U.S. army in March, he presented a sworn statement making clear that he was entering the army under protest. He felt that he had no "moral obligation to serve in the army of the United States."

When the military authorities refused to accept his sworn statement, Alvelo refused to take the required oath. Weeks later he was indicted in the District Court of the U.S.

A defense committee representing a broad spectrum of political opinion has been formed to defend Alvelo, Mari Bras told me. The U.S. firm of Rabinowitz and Boudin, Mari Bras himself and other lawyers are involved in the defense.

Dr. Piri Fernandez de Lewis is chairman of the committee; Gerardo Navas Davila, an engineer, is vice chairman; Eve Scott, secretary; and Dr. Rafael Cadiz is treasurer.

Ohioans Picket State House on Vietnam Issue

By Bob Schwarz

COLUMBUS, Ohio — On Saturday, May 28, between 700 and 800 Ohioans picketed the State House here to protest the war in Vietnam. Called by the Ohioans for a Reasonable Settlement, a committee of clergymen and other individuals, the protest began with a rally at the local YWCA. An overflow crowd heard Senator Ernest Gruening and Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas speak against the war, and folk-singers Bill Frederick and Bill Nelson sing topical protest songs.

After the rally, demonstrators took picket signs and marched several blocks to the State House where they picketed for an hour before gathering on the State House steps to listen to Reverend Coffin speak against the war. This was by far the largest demonstration in Ohio in many years and had participation from groups all over the state, attesting to the growing unpopularity of Johnson's war.

Interestingly enough, the bulk of the marchers were adults rather than the usual student majority, most of whom are leaving for summer vacation now.

Though the official slogan of the march called for negotiations, many people eagerly accepted signs demanding immediate withdrawal and self-determination, provided by the CEWV's in Cleveland and at Antioch College. Literature from many organizations was sold, including the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*, which was very well received.

...Persecution of Committee

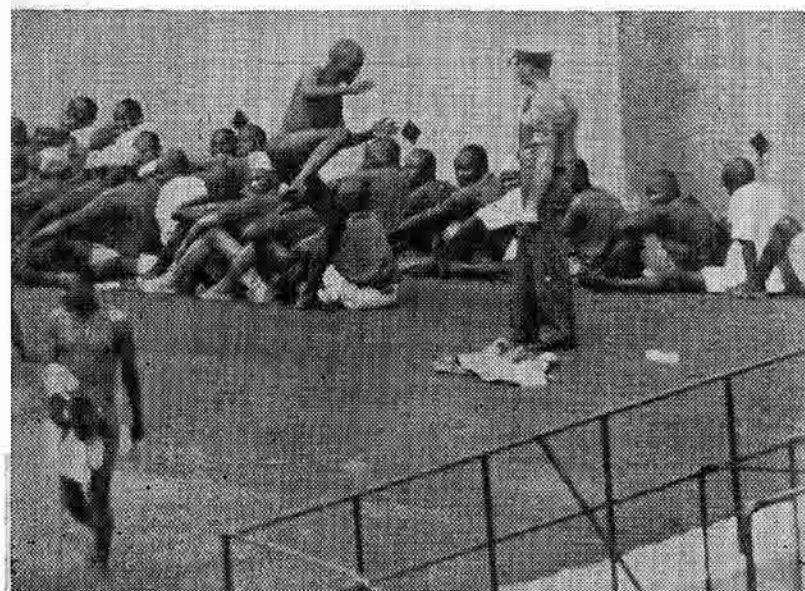
(Continued from Page 1) by their American friends." The committee has not yet received a reply from the President.

Numerous organizations and individuals have already expressed their support of the Alexander Defense Committee. They include: Mel Wulf, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Rowland Watts, president, Workers Defense League; George Hausner, executive director, American Committee on Africa; the executive committee of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating

Committee; and Paul Booth, national secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society.

New Tour Planned

In announcing the Justice Department attack, the Alexander Defense Committee noted that it is planning a tour later this year by Franz J. T. Lee, a young South African who is a friend of Dr. Alexander's and who has written and lectured extensively on South African affairs since living in West Germany. The American tour will help raise funds which are now more than ever urgently needed for the committee to continue its work.



SOUTH AFRICAN WAY OF LIFE. Black prisoner in South African jail is forced to strip and hop around on one leg. Known as the "tausa dance," this indignity is for the alleged purpose of seeking possible concealed weapons.

Alexander Group Needs Your Help

It would be a cynical victory for the Johnson administration if the Justice Department's attack on the Alexander Defense Committee prevented it from channeling funds to the victims of racist oppression in South Africa — simply because these funds were used up in the Committee's own legal defense. Contributions are urgently needed to help the ADC carry on its work, now on two fronts. Money should be sent to the Alexander Defense Committee, 873 B'way, New York, N. Y. 10003.



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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

From Japan

Tokyo, Japan
I read the news of the political murder in a Japanese paper which said the offices of the Socialist Workers Party was attacked and some members were wounded, and one was killed. Now *The Militant* has arrived, confirming that it was our comrades — young comrades with so much of a future.

I deeply mourn the dead comrade and wish to extend my good wishes to the wounded.

I solemnly join the universal anger against Johnson, Rusk and McNamara, the most hated men on earth, who continue to corrupt the whole world. Here in Japan,

too, anger is boiling up against them and their dirty, corrupt servants, Sato and others.

The desperate situation of the Vietnamese people, now led by the Buddhist monks, is causing deep irritation among the Japanese people.

On May 30 an atomic submarine dared to enter Yokosuka, despite the general indignation. Sato, the most hated servant of Johnson, ordered more than 5,000 task police against the joint demonstration of Socialist and Communist workers.

About a hundred students — anti-Stalinist revolutionary students — took the guards by surprise this morning and forced their way into the base for a demonstration.

E.Y.

Madison Ave. War Effort.

New York, N.Y.

Buried in the back pages of the business section of the *New York Times* on May 22, was a story which in its way tells as much about the official American attitude towards the war in Vietnam as a news report of a Presidential press conference.

It's a truism in this society that when you have a product to sell, you go to any lengths to sell it — even if you have to phony things up a bit. So it should come as no surprise that, given the assignment to raise money for the USO, a Madison Avenue advertising agency recreated a phony Vietnam beach landing. The *Times* article provides a detailed behind-the-scenes account of how this particular Big Lie was pulled off.

To begin with, the site of the staged battle scene wasn't in Vietnam. It was a stretch of peaceful beach on our Caribbean protectorate, Puerto Rico. The "invading" marines were in reality the First Minnesota National Guard (on the island for maneuvers anyway, the article carefully states). And the commanding officer was a TV director who "was as demanding as a sergeant."

Another scene supposedly pictures the battle-weary troops relaxing later at a USO club with their dates. As if this doesn't stretch credibility too thin, the girls are played by the daughters of some officers at Naval Headquarters in San Juan.

A final ersatz note: the TV "public service announcements" weren't even shot in a real life USO club. It was actually the officers' mess with signs changed.

In fact the only real thing about any of the USO advertising coming up in the fall, the story declares, is one of the newspaper ads containing a photo from Vietnam. But since none of the ads is identified by location, how are we

to tell the genuine from the phony article?

All this could be passed off as just another example of slick Madison Avenue salesmanship, if not for three considerations. First, this "inspired" campaign will soon be pulling at our heart and purse strings from all sides via 680 TV stations, 5,000 radio stations, 9,000 newspapers and 95,000 subway cars and buses.

Second, the idea implied in these "commercials" — that to win the approval of your lady fair you must show your manhood by winning glory on the battlefield — is a total obscenity and a symptom of the degree of brutalization achieved and approved for family consumption by this society.

And, most important, was the identification of where the action takes place purposely left out because by the time the ads appear our armies may really be storming other beaches in other parts of the world?

Ron Wolin

Answers Charge

San Diego, Calif.

I am a member of the San Diego chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society, and I read something in *New Left Notes* today that bothered me very much. A sentence reads, "A small number of Young Socialist Alliance members belong to SDS, but most of YSA's activity has been directed at breaking up the NCC [National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam]."

I am extremely angry that such a falsehood could be printed in an

unsigned, and therefore presumably editorial, article in the "internal newspaper of Students for a Democratic Society." This statement does not reflect SDS policy, and is not in any way an official position of SDS.

I would like to say for myself that, although YSA needs no testimonials, the YSA and SWP people I have worked with in the past five years have been fine people. If anything, they cooperate a little too well; certainly they are not and have not been "wreckers." These men are fine radicals, and when they come to SDS meetings here they make a great deal of sense; when we work together they do a great deal of work. I hope *New Left Notes* will continue the tradition of solidarity which *The Militant* exemplifies, and I hope this grievous lapse of bare civility is its last.

Jonathan M. Wagner

Offers Criticism

Flushing, N.Y.

The recent article by Harry Ring on Castro and Marxism contains several glaring errors of fact, one of which I should like to comment on. In his article, Mr. Ring states that Stalin never did explain in theoretical terms the increasing oppressive character of the Soviet state during the 30s, even after he had consolidated his rule and entirely liquidated the

"Opposition." This assertion is entirely false; as a matter of fact, this was one of the major pre-occupations of Stalin during this period, particularly because he sought to justify the Great Purge trials in terms of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In brief, Stalin claimed that, as the Soviet Union reached its socialist stage of development, class antagonisms were bound to intensify, because the old bourgeoisie and exploiting classes sought to make a final titanic effort to arrest the economic transformation of Soviet society. Thus it became necessary for the state, as the representative of the working masses, to act in any manner necessary to crush this counter-revolutionary threat.

We may of course disagree with this thesis; I myself believe it to be absurd in the light of what we now know about Stalin and his methods of terror. Nevertheless, such explanations do exist, and it would, in general, be advisable for *The Militant* staff to read or reread many of the works of Stalin since your fine newspaper is dedicated to criticism of Stalin and Stalinism and all of its ramifications. On the other hand, perhaps a shift of orientation completely away from such "polemics" would best serve the Left in the U.S. at this time.

H.B.

Thought for the Week

"Who the hell ever said I was nonviolent? I spent eight years in the military and the rest of my life in Mississippi." — James Meredith, expressing regret that he wasn't armed when he was shot at.

It Was Reported in the Press

Project Head Start? — Hubert Humphrey, who is making do with cramped quarters until the government finishes building him a \$750,000 house, says we must wage a war against slums.

It Figures — Talking about Hubert's new dwelling, Senator Paul Fannin (R-Ariz.) disclosed that the appropriation for the house includes the building of adjacent free parking areas for the Vice President's visitors. Meanwhile, another administration bill provides authority to charge for parking around Veteran's Administration hospitals.

Logical Fellow — Orlando Bosch, a Cuban counter-revolutionary, who says he refused to take orders from the CIA, was arrested on charges of illegal possession and transportation of explosives, conspiring to export arms to Cuba, and extorting money from wealthy Cuban refugees. He com-

plained: "If the CIA breaks the laws, and if Kennedy broke the laws, why can't we do the same?"

Florida Humanists — County Commissioners in Pinellas, Florida, voted to ban rodeos from the county because they are an "inhumane treatment of animals." Meanwhile, county employees were advised they would have to await the conclusion of a "comprehensive study" before they could get wage raises. The county water department pays \$1.41 an hour.

Poor Little Rich Girl — Last week, we reported the happy story of the Italian-born Mrs. Henry Ford II. When she goes back to Europe, she said, her friends marvel at the lovely dresses she picks up on Detroit bargain counters for only \$200. But Mrs. Ford's life, we now learn, isn't all that rosy. Speaking at a

charity ball in New York, she said: "It is sometimes lonely in Detroit. I walk the dogs and go to bed early."

Perish the Thought! — The *New York Times* explains why Southerners (white Southerners, that is) are apprehensive about the election of Negro sheriffs. "Sheriffs are the major law enforcement officers in the South. Thus, any Negro elected to the office would have the power to question and arrest whites suspected of infractions of the law."

God Slipping? — The Gallup Poll reports that only 97 percent of the people now say they believe in God, as against 99 percent in 1952. The report estimates that the three percent represents about four million atheists in the country.

—Harry Ring

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MOSCOW TRIALS FRAME-UPS, KREMLIN LEADER NOW ADMITS — 'Confessions' Extorted By Horrible Physical and Mental Tortures — The now-revealed text of Nikita S. Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union exposes Stalin's regime as the most brutal in all history and, at the same time, serves to undermine the rule of Khrushchev and the other leaders of the Kremlin bureaucracy who succeeded Stalin.

Well over half of the six-hour speech deals with the terror and frame-up system Stalin used to destroy first the Trotskyists and then all other opposition in what had once been the democratically-run party of Lenin.

To those, who for the past 20 years have defended the Moscow Trials with the argument, "They confessed their guilt, didn't they?" Khrushchev at last and officially gave the true answer. "Confessions of guilt," he admitted, "were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures."

Thus the greatest frame-up trials in all history stand repudiated as lies from beginning to end. Khrushchev's speech vindicates completely Trotsky's denunciation of the Moscow Trials. Also verified is the "Not Guilty" verdict returned by the famous Commission of Inquiry headed by philosopher John Dewey, which sat in Mexico City as a court to hear evidence produced by Trotsky disproving the monstrous accusations in Moscow.

Khrushchev cited numerous specific cases of purge victims repudiating their confessions and writing to Stalin describing how these confessions had been extracted from them. All to no avail. They were shot.

In 1939 when the purge began to slacken somewhat, Stalin sent telegrams to all sections of the Communist Party, down to low echelon unit leaders, justifying and urging the use of physical torture on those under arrest.

Also cited is Stalin's threat to the head of the secret police during the preparation of the "Doctors' plot" frame-up: "If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors, we will shorten you by a head." Then, "Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions, advised him on which investigative methods should be used; these methods were simple — beat, beat, and once again, beat!" — June 11, 1956.

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Newsmen on Scene Refute U.S. Version Of Shooting of a Cuban at Guantanamo

SNCC Stand Presented by John Lewis

(World Outlook) — On May 21, a Cuban sentry, Luis Ramirez López, who was standing guard outside the Guantanamo enclave held by U.S. troops, was killed by rifle fire emanating from the base, which lasted sporadically for about two hours.

On the following day, Guantanamo officials answered the Cuban protest over the murder by flatly denying that any Cuban sentry had been killed by rifle fire from the base. They stated that there had not been any rifle fire whatsoever.

A few hours later, the Pentagon announced that an "incident" had been reported which it was investigating. On completion of the "investigation," the Pentagon said that the Cuban sentry had intruded into the base, fled when noticed and was shot while climbing over the fence to get away.

This is the version that has been widely publicized by the capitalist press in the United States. In Europe, the Pentagon version has been questioned. Thus the May 29-30 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* declared:

"According to Western journalists who visited the Cuban posts near Guantanamo Friday [May 27], it appears difficult to accept the American version of the incidents. In fact, the base is surrounded by three enclosures of barbed wire, and 40 meters beyond that, another high fence. Beyond this fence a mine field marks the perimeter of the base. According to the version confirmed by Mr. Dean Rusk Friday evening, a wounded Cuban soldier was presumably capable of getting through all these obstacles. The Cuban comandante showed the journalists photographs of the body of Ramirez, the Cuban soldier killed last week, showing that the bullet cut through the aorta, causing instant death."

Other Pentagon Claims

Besides injury, the Pentagon added provocative insult, claiming that there had been eleven Cuban intrusions into Guantanamo since last March, three of them resulting in exchanges of gunfire. The latest intrusion, according to this same source, occurred May 23, following the killing of Ramirez.

In a May 27 statement, the Pentagon claimed, as reported by the *New York Times*, "that six Cubans had climbed into the base, fleeing only after an exchange of fire with American guards."

The most serious thing about the claim was what it revealed about the state of the U.S. mine field. Six Cubans crossed it, to believe the Pentagon, going perhaps cautiously but returning on the run without a single mine exploding. The capacity of the Cubans to skim over barbed wire fences should



HANDS OFF CUBA! Demonstrators at United Nations, June 2, protest U.S. provocations at Guantanamo naval base and demand end to aggression against Cuba. The picket line was organized by the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence and supported by other Latin Americans.

also be of serious concern to the Pentagon. The United States has only two men capable of that — Batman and Superman.

The Cuban response to this provocation showed that they are as alert as ever. If the Pentagon and State Department were testing their reflexes, they got the answer they deserved.

Castro denounced the Washington warmongers in two statements May 27, charging that the State Department version of the Guantanamo incidents was a lie. The Pentagon and State Department, said the Cuban prime minister,

were attempting to "create the psychological conditions to unleash armed aggression against Cuba." He ordered a nationwide state of alert.

On May 28, President Dorticos called in all the ambassadors of the Soviet bloc countries to bring them up to date on the situation. He declared that "if the United States attacks, we will accept volunteers from all countries to help us."

As the Cubans mobilized from one end of the island to the other, the Soviet government warned the United States to retreat. In a

statement issued by Tass on May 29, the Soviet Union said:

"The Soviet ruling circles follow developments in that area closely and consider it necessary to issue a reminder of earlier pledges of support for heroic Cuba, which is fighting for its freedom and independence."

"Those who harbor aggressive designs against the Republic of Cuba should not forget that Cuba has true and reliable friends."

The State Department professed puzzlement over Havana's sharp reaction. According to a Washington dispatch in the May 29 *New York Times*, "officials here said they did not really understand what lay behind the Cuban agitation."

They understand well enough. Ever since Johnson began escalating the war in Vietnam, Castro has openly stated that the best way to meet American aggression is as quickly and as energetically as possible, so as to serve clear warning and to block the military assault before it gets started and gains momentum.

NEW YORK — Cuban counter-revolutionary supporters of ex-dictator Batista have issued a call for a new attack on Cuba. The call was made at a meeting at Manhattan Center, June 5, reportedly attended by more than 2,000 Cubans.

The meeting was organized by a gang of organized veterans of the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion, calling themselves a "Central Liberation Front." None of the so-called "left-wing" counterrevolutionary gangs were invited to participate. The biggest ovations went to Batista and Rolando Masferrer, one of his henchmen, who was on the platform.

A spokesman said they look forward to "a concerted plan of attacks" to be followed by a mass invasion.

On May 20, Cuban armed forces sank a launch trying to land infiltrators west of Havana. Two of the infiltrators were killed and two wounded and captured.

Cuba's Reply to Pentagon

[The following statement by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro was released on May 27.]

The statement issued by the Pentagon concerning an alleged incursion last Monday by Cuban soldiers into the perimeter of the [Guantanamo] base, which provoked a shooting, is as slanderous and false as is its version of the murder of a Cuban soldier on May 21. It does not contain the least element of truth. No one could believe that a raid by six Cuban soldiers within the perimeter of the base could have any sense or be logical or have any kind of objective. Our nerves are calm, and we do not practice such provocations.

The Pentagon has invented this incident precisely on the day following a visit to the base by a large group of representatives of the world press who were able to ascertain the truth of what happened in the case of the Cuban soldier murdered by the U.S. Marines. We can affirm categorically that no such incident, nor any similar incident, of this or any other kind, has ever been caused, either before or now, by the Cuban soldiers who guard that territory. The U.S. Marines, on the other hand, certainly have carried out thousands of provocations of every kind, which the Government of

Cuba has continually and systematically denounced.

What, then, is concealed behind this deceitful and serious accusation by the Pentagon? What purpose are they pursuing; perhaps, after having fallen into the most ridiculous of situations because of their fantastic version of the death of the Cuban soldier, the falsity of which was confirmed by journalists from 16 countries at the very scene of the incident, they now try to escape from their embarrassing situation by telling us and world public opinion more lies. If that is their aim, they will only make themselves more ludicrous.

Or perhaps, behind this unbelievable and deceitful information, they are seeking to create the necessary psychological conditions to unleash aggression against our country. Let no one forget that the Yankee imperialists, exactly like their predecessors, the Nazis and fascists, have always preceded their aggressions against other peoples by imputations similar to these, lacking an atom of truth. In that case those S.O.B.'s may be certain that they will not take us by surprise.

We have said more than once we do not want a war which could cost our homeland and our people countless sacrifices in human lives

and material goods, the interruption as well as the destruction of a great part of our revolutionary achievements; but we are not ostriches who think that imperialist aggression can be prevented with sentimental exhortations to reason and right and peace.

The evocation of such ghosts did not stop Hitler and the Nazis. These new Nazis will not be impressed by these arguments either.

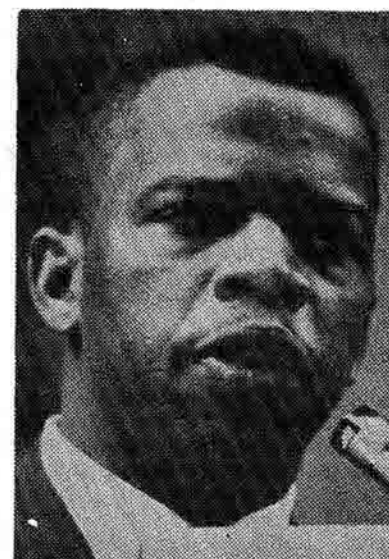
If the imperialists decide to carry out an open war against our country, we will not be able to avoid it. But once it is begun, we will not stop until the Yankee imperialists have been annihilated in every country where they perpetrate their acts of aggression and genocide.

Or does the Pentagon want to intimidate and blackmail our people? In our opinion, the Pentagon chiefs are a gang of soulless reactionaries, unbridled bandits, unscrupulous criminals, and in addition, cowards. Far from intimidating anyone with their blackmail, threats, aggressions and crimes, they inspire more scorn and less respect than rats.

If they dare attack us, we shall fight them without truce or mercy to the last bullet, to the last man, while there remains in the world a single people fighting against them with weapons in hand.



Fidel Castro



John Lewis